



CMR Notes

CMR NEWS AND COMMENTARY / ISSUE NO. 56 / MAY 2000

Who Wants to Spend 77 Days on a 747?

SAVE THE SUBMARINES FROM DISINGENUOUS DACOWITS DESIGNS

REP. BARTLETT SLOWS FEMINIST PUSH FOR WOMEN ON SUBMARINES

Rep. Roscoe Bartlett (R-MD) has taken the lead in confronting the latest drive by the **Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services (DACOWITS)** to get women on submarines, and has won a significant victory for the Navy and the submarine community. On May 10, the **House Armed Services Committee (HASC)** approved a key amendment offered by Rep. Bartlett to the **2001 Defense Authorization Bill**, which would preserve Congress' right (and constitutional responsibility) to have a say on the controversial issue. The amendment passed with a **31-21** bipartisan majority vote.

Bartlett took action because current law allows the Clinton Administration to take irreversible steps to put women on submarines in only **30 calendar days**—most likely when Congress is out of session. If the Bartlett amendment is enacted, however, no action could be taken and no Defense Department funds could be spent to

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Ignoring common sense and compelling advice from Navy experts, the Pentagon's **Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services (DACOWITS)** recommended at its spring 2000 meeting that female officers be assigned to **Ohio-class** (Trident) ballistic missile submarines (SSBNs). The 36 member committee, largely composed of civilian women, also pushed the Navy to begin taking steps to assign women to the new **Virginia-class** attack subs, which are considerably smaller than the Tridents. A legislative amendment offered by Rep. Roscoe Bartlett (R-MD) would block implementation of the DACOWITS proposal, pending sufficient time for congressional review. (See article this page.)

This edition of *CMR Notes* summarizes major points regarding the issue that have been made in several comprehensive studies and reports—all of which were pointedly ignored by the DACOWITS. The most authoritative review was done for the Navy in 1995 by the highly respected firm **Science Applications International Corporation**. The SAIC report, titled "**Submarine Assignment Policy Assessment**," was withheld from public view until 1999, when the **Center for Military Readiness** obtained a copy and began publicizing its findings.

This article also quotes a slide presentation made by Navy **Capt. Bob Holland** at the DACOWITS' fall 1999 meeting, and a written "Navy Response" to the committee's "Request for Information" that was provided at the committee's spring 2000 meeting.

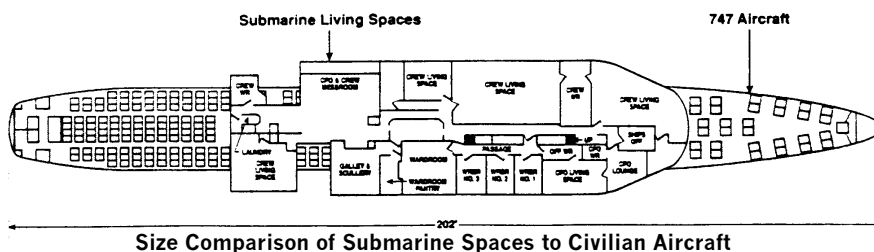


Diagram reprinted from **Submarine Assignment Policy Assessment**, a report prepared for the Navy by the **Science Applications International Corps (SAIC)**, 1995, p. 15.

1. The diagram above provides invaluable context for the debate. Passengers spend only a few hours on a 747, but submariners live in prison-sized quarters for weeks at a time. SSBN "boomers" stay submerged for as long as 77 continuous days. SSN attack subs deploy for as long as six months at a time, with infrequent port calls.

- Alterations for co-ed crews would: *"Further reduce existing below-standard conditions (for both genders); or require the removal of equipment as a space and weight trade-off, which would result in reduced operational capabilities of the ship; or in the extreme, require lengthening of the ship to obtain additional space and weight margin. This option would be very costly."* (Navy Response, pp. 3-4)

2. Problems inherent in the DACOWITS' incremental proposal could only be "solved" by gender-integration of all subs. Permitting female officers on larger Ohio-class SSBNs first would eventually lead to full gender integration on all classes of submarines, including the smaller but more numerous Los Angeles-class attack subs (SSNs).

- Limiting women to one class of submarines would create an unworkable career path. The Navy's response to the committee noted that: *"One of the principle tenets of submarine officer detailing is the general intention that officers serve on both types of submarines in order to broaden their experience in each."* (Navy Response p. 7)

- At the same time, because Tridents are thought to provide a better quality of life, female assignments to SSBN "boomers" alone *"...may be perceived as an inequity within the community, by both officers and enlisted sailors."* (Navy Response p. 7)

- A Trident-only plan would also create an unfair perception of "tokenism." *"...[A] two-tiered system that separates the career paths of female and male submarine officers would be unacceptable because of [the] management requirements and the career limitations it would impose..."* (SAIC, pp. 47-48)

- The DACOWITS is either willfully ignorant on this point, or deliberately cynical in trying to mislead Congress. Either interpretation destroys the credibility of the tax-funded feminist committee, which will later argue that it is unrealistic and

"unfair" to assign only female officers, but not enlisted women, to all classes of submarines.

- The DACOWITS was informed in a briefing last fall that career opportunities for women specializing in nuclear propulsion are readily available in other high-tech classes of ships, such as AEGIS cruisers and Nimitz-class aircraft carriers.

3. Separate quarters for women would further cramp living spaces on all submarines—which already fail to meet CNO habitability standards for surface ships—to an intolerable degree.

- Unencumbered space in sleeping areas and sanitary facilities is about one-half to one-third that afforded to crewmembers on small surface ships. On attack subs, it is not unusual to "hot bunk" about 40% of the crew. *" 'Hot bunking,' wherein three crew members share two bunks in shifts, is standard operating procedure on attack submarines. The total living area for more than 130 people is equivalent to a medium-size house."* Some sailors prefer to lay down mattresses in noisy torpedo rooms, rather than hot bunk. (SAIC, pp. 2, 12)

- Fifty enlisted submariners use each shower, compared to 25 sailors on the surface. An enlisted person has less than half the storage space (3 vs. 7.5 cubic feet) of surface counterparts. Space between bunks measures only 18", compared to 24". Submariners must turn sideways to get by each other in passageways that are only 27" wide. (Navy Response, p. 3)

- "In both the Los Angeles and Seawolf classes, modifications which attain compliance with the [habitability] standards may not be possible without lengthening the ship..."* Re-assignment of scarce sanitary facilities to female sailors—restricting, in many cases, 50% of facilities to 10% of the crew—would cause inequities for the men. Cross-rank, single-gender berthing arrangements would disrupt prerogatives of rank in an already-stressful environment. (SAIC, pp. 26-27)

- According to preliminary work done on the new Virginia-class attack submarines *"...additional facilities for women would require an increase in length from the baseline design and even then, the facilities were not fully compliant with the [habitability] standards."* (SAIC, p. 26, quoting the Naval Sea Systems Command)

- Virginia-class attack subs were designed to be smaller than the Seawolf, to reduce costs. Extensive redesign, as demanded by the DACOWITS, *"would have two negative effects: further degrade habitability for both genders and require removal of operational equipment reducing warfighting effectiveness."* (Navy briefing paper, quoted by the *Washington Times*, May 4, 2000)

- Ship alterations to accommodate women would cost approximately **\$5 million** per attack sub, *not counting* redesign costs of approximately **\$15 million** per class, plus *"required system changes and associated costs."* The Navy's minimum estimate is **78 times** more per crewmember than comparable alterations on carriers. (\$313,000 vs. \$4,000) In addition, the *"opportunity cost"* of taking submarines off line for extensive alterations would be a devastating blow to the already overburdened Silent Service. (Navy briefing slides, fall 1999, and Response to the DACOWITS, p. 5)

- Redesigning submarines would rob scarce maintenance funds, currently short about **\$220 million**. Maintenance work on 15 ships was cancelled this year. Without additional funds, critical work on 25 other ships, plus 18 more, will be skipped or scaled back next year. (*Navy Times*, May 22, 2000)

4. More importantly, current estimates of cost do not reflect the operational hazards of degrading undersea performance characteristics and combat capabilities, which are vastly different from the surface fleet.

- A submarine is analogous to an "undersea aircraft," which patrols the oceans for months at a time,

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unsupported and undetected in an environment more hostile than space. Even the smallest emergency, such as an electrical fire or seawater leak, poses an immediate threat to the entire crew. (SAIC, pp. 10, 16)

- The crew lives in and around equipment—an existence that has been compared to living inside a clock. *“Critical electronic, hydraulic, and high pressure air systems pass through submarine berthing spaces.”* Redesignation of space designed for operational equipment could *“potentially [impact] the ship’s endurance and/or mission capability.”* (Navy response, p. 6)

5.Current estimates of cost do not reflect the impact of predictable health and safety problems, including heightened risks of gynecological emergencies and birth defects. The following medical issues were discussed in detail in the SAIC report, but omitted in the Navy’s recent response to the DACOWITS:

- Certain atmospheric elements that are not harmful to adults, such as carbon monoxide (CO), cannot be eliminated from the closed environment of a submarine. Toxic elements present a real threat to a female sailor’s unborn child: *“The fetus is most sensitive and at the greatest risk in terms of the toxicological effects of the environment during the first three months of gestation....[E]ven moderate carbon monoxide exposure could decrease the oxygen transport capacity of maternal and fetal hemoglobin and result in interference in fetal tissue oxygenation during important developmental stages.”* (SAIC, pp. 34-35)

- Ruptured ectopic pregnancies are also life-threatening and untreatable by a medical officer (usually not a doctor) in a sub’s closet-sized “sick bay.” (SAIC, p. 32) Mandatory pre-deployment pregnancy tests would make sense, but feminists reject them as an infringement on women’s rights.

- According to the **Center for Naval Analysis**, the unplanned loss rate for female sailors on surface ships (23 to 25 percent) is more than **two-and-a-**

half times the rate for men (8 to 10 percent)—most often due to pregnancy and other medical conditions. Proportional losses on submarines could compromise stealth missions, and have a devastating effect on morale and readiness. (*Washington Times*, Mar. 8, 1999)

- A ship’s captain who is faced with a female sailor in acute medical distress, or a pregnant sailor who fears birth defects due to CO and other toxic elements in the atmosphere, might have to order an immediate, unexpected trip to the surface. Mid-ocean evacuations, accomplished by means of a basket dangling from a helicopter, would be extremely perilous for all concerned, particularly when the sub is operating in deep ocean or under polar ice.

6.It is unfair and unwise to impose unnecessary and unresolvable social and management problems on the submarine community.

- The unplanned loss of *any* sailor from a small-crewed submarine, which requires 100% manning for continuous 18-hour shift cycles, imposes considerable stress on fellow crewmembers. Properly trained replacement personnel, who are usually not available even on surface ships, would be even more difficult to find and place on high-tech submarines. With limited berthing available, replacements would have to match in terms of gender as well as qualifications. (SAIC, pp. 4, 44)

- Recent experience indicates that inappropriate relationships, ranging from harassment to sexual attraction, will occur and be known to the entire crew. Displays of affection are sure to undermine morale and discipline, since there is no effective way to separate the people involved, short of evacuation. Unplanned surfacings due to inappropriate personal behavior, as well as medical/pregnancy emergencies, would further compromise the mission. (SAIC, pp. 48-49)

- Unrelenting stress and absence of personal comforts and privacy place a premium on morale and cohesion of the crew. There is no fresh air or

communication with the outside world, except for 50-word family grams that are not private. (SAIC, pp. 20-21) Divorce rates in the submarine community are already very high. Further stress on families, combined with predictable unplanned losses and non-deployability problems, could worsen personnel shortages, instead of improving them.

- Norway, Sweden, and Australia** assign a few women to small submarines, but brief coastal deployments are nowhere near as demanding as U.S. requirements. On small, 30-person Swedish subs, men and women change clothes, bunk and shower in the same spaces. *“Love relationships”* occurring while under way are conducted *“professionally,”* and treated with wary acceptance. (*Navy Times*, July 5, 1999)

- Such arrangements are incompatible with sound personnel management practices, as well as American cultural values. Civilian policymakers play with fire when they throw ordinary human beings into an emotionally volatile, 100 percent oxygen environment, and then insist there be zero tolerance of sparks.

CONCLUSION

In its response to the DACOWITS the Navy summarized its position:

“Due to their very unique space limitations, equipment density, and design constraints in an extended mission requirements environment, submarines cannot provide the necessary privacy to properly accommodate mixed gender crews. The Navy’s decision regarding the assignment of women to submarines has been reviewed, determining that no new information has become available from the Women at Sea program, which would provide a basis for changing the policy.” (Navy Response, p. 10)

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BARTLETT (from page 1)

assign women to submarines, unless Congress is notified and has the opportunity to respond over a period of **120 continuous congressional work days**.

Bartlett's victory was a significant setback for the tax-funded DACOWITS, which is composed of mostly civilian women who constantly promote the feminist agenda for the military. At its recent spring meeting near Washington D.C., the single-minded Pentagon advisory committee called for the assignment of female officers-only to the larger Ohio-class (Trident) ballistic missile (SSBN) subs. The DACOWITS also demanded an extremely expensive re-design of the new Virginia-class attack subs, currently under construction, to accommodate women in the future.

Adoption of the Bartlett amendment by Congress would not settle the issue for good, but it would help to counter and neutralize intense political pressures to give the president a "legacy" at the expense of the Silent Service.

Danzig Stigmatizes Submariners

As predicted in the July 1999 *CMR Notes*, the current drive to assign women to submarines began with a controversial speech before the **Naval Submarine League** by Navy Secretary **Richard Danzig** last June. Secretary Danzig compared the submarine community to **Narcissus**, a mythological figure who was consumed by self-love. Danzig also criticized the submarine community for being a "white male bastion," and suggested that it might lose political support among women in Congress if it did not consider gender integration on submarines.

Aside from the condescending notion that all female members of Congress think and vote alike, Danzig's remarks were a gratuitous affront to the submarine community. The speech also signaled that Pentagon feminists were preparing to force incremental steps to get women on submarines before **Bill Clinton** leaves office.

To his credit, Chief of Naval Operations **Adm. Jay Johnson** resisted the secretary's pressure, saying that the issue had been thoroughly studied many times, and all-male crews are "*the right thing for us.*" (*Virginian Pilot*, Sept. 3, 1999) **Adm. Johnson's** judgment is eminently sound and easily defensible on national security grounds. Nevertheless, the *Washington Times* reported on May 4 that **Adm. Vernon Clark**, recently selected by Secretary Danzig to succeed **Adm. Johnson** as CNO, may be "*more amenable*" to the idea.

Seeing the writing on the wall, Rep. Bartlett wisely recognized that a single incremental step to put women on submarines would inevitably lead to irreversible changes on all classes of subs, without congressional oversight or approval. A majority of House committee members saw the Bartlett amendment as an opportunity to preserve congressional prerogatives, and to support **Adm. Johnson's** position on the issue.

Contrary to Secretary Danzig's stereotypical assumptions, two female members of the HASC, **Tillie Fowler** (R-FL) and **Mary Bono** (R-CA), cast their votes *for* the Bartlett amendment. All Republicans voted Yes, with the exception of **Steven Kuykendall** (CA) and **Jim Saxton** (NJ). All Democrats voted No, except **Norman Sisisky**, (VA), **Owen Pickett** (VA), and **Gene Taylor** (MS).

House/Senate to Confer

The submarine community has won some breathing space, but it will not be safe unless and until the Bartlett language becomes law. The Senate version of the Defense Authorization bill has already been marked up in the **Senate Armed Services Committee (SASC)** chaired by **John Warner** (R-VA), a former Secretary of the Navy. A Senate floor vote is tentatively scheduled for the week of May 22-26. The full House approved their version of the bill on May 18.

All members of the SASC, together with selected members of the HASC, will reconcile differences in the bill during conference committee meetings,

which will take place after the Memorial Day recess.

Republican SASC members include Chairman Warner, **Strom Thurmond*** (SC), **John McCain*** (AZ), **Robert C. Smith** (NH), **James M. Inhofe** (OK), **Rick Santorum** (PA), **Olympia Snowe*** (ME), **Pat Roberts** (KS), **Wayne Allard** (CO), **Tim Hutchinson**** (AR), and **Jeff Sessions** (AL). Democrats are **Carl Levin** (MI), **Edward Kennedy*** (MA), **Jeff Bingaman** (NM), **Robert C. Byrd** (WV), **Charles S. Robb** (VA), **Joseph I. Lieberman** (CT), **Max Cleland** (GA), **Mary Landrieu** (LA), and **Jack Reed*** (RI). (**Chairman and *members, SASC Personnel Subcommittee)

Absent a Senate floor amendment identical to the Bartlett measure, Senate and House members will have the opportunity to support the Bartlett amendment in conference committee. The "big four" conferees will be Chairman Warner, Ranking Member Levin (D-MI), HASC Chairman **Floyd Spence** (R-SC), and Ranking Member **Ike Skelton** (D-MO). All members of Congress can be reached through the Capitol Switchboard (202/224-3121), or addressed at the **Senate Office Building, Washington D.C. 20510**, and the **House Office Building, Washington D.C. 20515**.

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CIVICS LESSON

During the debate over the Bartlett amendment, opponents were reduced to making some ludicrous arguments. **Rep. Ellen O. Tauscher** (D-CA), for example, suggested that the Bartlett amendment was a "*capricious attempt to override the Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services.*" Rep. Tauscher should review Article I, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution, which gives oversight responsibility for the armed forces to *Congress*, not the DACOWITS. ■

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Claudia Kennedy's Complaint

PLEASE DON'T SQUEEZE THE GENERAL

Charges of sexual harassment from a 3-star female general have embarrassed the Army and raised questions about the rights of the accused. On March 30, **Rowan Scarborough** of the *Washington Times* reported that **Lt. Gen. Claudia Kennedy**, 52, had filed a complaint against an unnamed flag officer who allegedly "groped" her at the conclusion of a 1996 meeting in her Pentagon office.

Subsequent stories in the *Washington Post* and *New York Times* reported that most Pentagon officials were unaware of the complaint, which Kennedy had tried to "handle" privately. But in 1999 Kennedy learned that the alleged harasser, later identified as **Maj. Gen. Larry G. Smith**, was slated for promotion to Deputy Inspector General of the Army.

In that capacity, Gen. Smith would have overseen sexual harassment complaints, and approved training programs setting standards for personal behavior. The news was too much for the still-ruffled General Kennedy, who filed a formal, still-pending complaint three years after the alleged incident. None of the principals involved, including Gen. Smith's military lawyer, have commented publicly on the case.

On May 11, however, **Thomas Ricks** of the *Washington Post* reported that Kennedy's charges had been "substantiated" by Army investigators. According to unnamed Pentagon sources, Gen. Kennedy had described the incident, at the time it occurred, to several friends and colleagues who have now corroborated her complaint. Ricks described Army officials as "quietly pleased," because the investigation did not find what was described as "institutional failure."

That conclusion may be premature. As of this writing, Gen. Smith has yet to see or respond to the investigators' report, which will not expose the names of witnesses against him. After a "reasonable period of time" Smith will

have the opportunity to offer any contrary evidence.

What is Wrong With This Picture?

It is impossible to know whether Gen. Smith is guilty of "conduct unbecoming an officer" or just involved in a clumsy misunderstanding. Regardless of what happened, Smith's rights of due process have already been compromised. Institutional failures that contributed to the embarrassing spectacle need to be examined objectively, not swept nervously under the rug.

Friends of Gen. Kennedy have praised her for making her initial complaint privately. But is that fair to any person accused of personal misconduct? If her charges had been secretly slipped into his file, the hapless Gen. Smith may have never known why his promotion prospects had been permanently ruined. As described in the March, 1996 edition of *CMR Notes*, "back-channel blacklist" regulations (DoD Instruction 1320.4) sometimes allow unsubstantiated allegations to be added to a promotion selectee's file without his or her knowledge. Gen. Smith should have been informed of Gen. Kennedy's allegations, and given the opportunity to respond while memories were still fresh.

Failing that, officials considering Gen. Smith for promotion to Deputy Inspector General should have asked him questions that might have precluded the messy Kennedy complaint. At high levels of responsibility, it is customary to ask officers being considered for promotion whether there are any problems—which need not be revealed—that might make it wise to decline a sensitive position.

The outcome of Kennedy's complaint has yet to be determined, but Gen. Smith's career is all but over. Gen. Kennedy, who will retire this summer, has not distinguished herself as a role model for 3-star officers of either sex. The institution of the Army will survive, but it has no reason to be proud of its actions in this matter.

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The Kinder, Gentler Military

WHAT SHE SAW AT THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION

During a May 14 appearance on C-SPAN's *Book Notes* and an earlier presentation before the **Independent Women's Forum**, author **Stephanie Gutmann** drew well-deserved attention to her new book, *The Kinder, Gentler Military - Can America's Gender-Neutral Fighting Force Still Win Wars?* (Scribner, \$25.00) The book, which has received many laudatory reviews, shines a bright light on the sorry consequences of cultural change in the military. It is a welcome addition to the ongoing debate.

Gutmann writes with a blunt, "no-bull" approach that takes many people by surprise. The independent-minded former flower child, whose parents marched in Vietnam-era anti-war demonstrations, provides unsettling (and sometimes hilarious) accounts of social dysfunction in the military. The nifty Ms. Gutmann shows up most military writers, who rarely question the sanitized spin that is routinely handed out by Pentagon spokesman. She frequently found it necessary to confront or evade public affairs "PC Police," who tried to restrict her every move on military installations, including the carrier **U.S.S. Stennis**.

The result is a fresh, eyewitness perspective reflecting respect for men and women in uniform, but disdain for clueless civilians who are putting soldiers through a risky social experiment that could undermine national security. She also faults uniformed leaders who are quick to deny obvious evidence of demoralizing problems. Recommendations in the last chapter deserve serious consideration by any presidential candidate or member of Congress who claims an intent to restore the strength of the armed forces. By illuminating the problem, Stephanie Gutmann has become part of the solution.

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CMR ACTIVITIES

■ Elaine Donnelly appeared on C-SPAN's *Washington Journal* on January 18, and answered a variety of questions regarding the **CMR 2000 Presidential Candidate Survey**. She also participated in a January 22 panel discussion on national defense at the annual **Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC)**.

■ On February 10, Donnelly delivered a lecture as part of the Center for Constructive Alternatives series at **Hillsdale College**, Michigan.

■ She addressed the **Bloomfield Hills MI Republican Women's Club** on March 9, and the Military Affairs Committee of the **Veterans of Foreign Wars**, meeting in Washington D.C., on March 13. On the following day, she spoke to the **Association of the U.S. Naval Academy Class of 1945** at **Fort Myer**, VA, as the guest of the group's president, **Cmdr. Everett A. Parke, USN (Ret)**.

■ As a guest of the *Washington Times* Editor in Chief **Wesley Pruden** at the **White House Correspondents Dinner** on April 29, Donnelly had the opportunity to chat with many luminaries from the media, government and the Pentagon, including Marine Commandant **General James L. Jones** and Navy Secretary **Richard Danzig**.

■ On May 3, she addressed the **Philadelphia Chapter of the U.S. Naval Academy and U.S. Military Academy Alumni Associations**, on the invitation of **Michael J. McMonagle**.

■ CMR has been renewed on the list of non-profit organizations eligible for contributions through the **Combined Federal Campaign (CFC)**. We hope that federal employees, active duty and retired military will remember CMR, **CFC #2999**, in planning tax-deductible pledges this year. If you have an e-mail network, please inform others of CMR's CFC check-off number.

President's Comments

by Elaine Donnelly

Sink DACOWITS, Not Submarines

At its most recent meeting, the famously foolish Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services made the most convincing case yet for its own demise. With mindless disregard for the operational realities and hardships of submarine life, and despite huge budget shortfalls that are turning the fleet into what the Navy Times has called a "Band-Aid Navy," the DACOWITS is demanding that millions be spent redesigning submarines—just to please them. Not a penny of the untold millions involved would be spent to improve operational readiness and morale in the over-taxed Silent Service.

As a former member of the DACOWITS (1984-86), I am personally familiar with the committee's operations. The "silk and chiffon generals"—most of whom know very little about the military when they are appointed—are wined, dined, and flattered with the protocol status of a three-star general or admiral. Members advise the Secretary of Defense on everything involving military women, who have no say in what the committee does.

DACOWITS members have ignored conclusive information, such as the concerns of Navy experts cited in this edition of CMR Notes, which

contradicts their own preconceived, feminist notions. And the institution is incapable of reconsidering or reversing its own



mistakes. Instead, members demand even more incremental change to "fix" the problems they themselves have created.

It is embarrassing to watch the DACOWITS demonstrating inexcusable ignorance, and making outlandish demands in the name of uniformed women, who surely know better. As the daughter of a former submariner (U.S.S. Menhaden) I find the committee's latest recommendations to be arrogant and extremely irresponsible. Similar demands regarding combat systems on land and in the air (multiple-launch rocket artillery and special operations helicopters) should inspire ridicule, not respect.

The time has come to delete the DACOWITS from the Defense Department budget. Nothing worthwhile that the committee has done for military women in the past justifies the radical agenda the group is promoting now. ■

Center for Military Readiness, P.O. Box 51600, Livonia, MI 48151, phone (734) 464-9430, fax (734) 464-6678. CMR can be found on the Internet at <http://www.cmrlink.org>. CMR President: Elaine Donnelly. Nothing written in the CMR Notes is to be construed as necessarily reflecting the view of the Center for Military Readiness or as an attempt to aid or hinder elections or the passage of legislation before Congress. Copyright © 2000.